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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1239

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: THE SPANISH RIGHT: NEW EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE FORCES

REF: MADRID 0866

SUMMARY: THE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE NON-EXTREMIST RIGHT HAVE ISSUED THEIR FIRST JOINT POLITICAL STATEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE LEFT OPPOSITION HAS CAPTURED HEADLINES AND HAS COME OUT INTO THE OPEN, IT REMAINS FAR MORE DIVIDED THAN THE RIGHT WHICH, IN ADDITION, STILL HAS A FREER HAND TO ORGANIZE AND CARRY OUT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. END SUMMARY.

1. SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE PRESENT GOVT IN MID-DECEMBER THE LEFT OPPOSITION HAS BEEN MOST VOCAL IN REACTION TO THE VARIOUS GOVT DECLARATIONS AND ACTIONS. THE RIGHT HAS BEEN COMPARATIVELY QUIESCENT. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE COMMUNISTS, ALTHOUGH EVEN THEY HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY ACTIVE, THE LEFT OPPOSITION IS GRADUALLY EMERGING FROM A CLANDESTINE OR SEMI-CLANDESTINE EXISTENCE REVEALING A HIGH DEGREE OF FRAGMENTATION

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AMONG THE DIFFERENT POLITICAL LEANINGS (REF A). THE
RIGHT, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN FREE TO ORGANIZE AND IS NO WAY NEAR AS

FACTIONALIZED AS THE OPPOSITION GROUPS. MOREOVER, THE RIGHT HAS BEEN DEVISING A STRATEGY TO PRESERVE ITS PRIVILEGED POSITIONS EVEN AS THE PRESENT GOVT TRIES TO SET IN MOTION A PROCESS OF POLITICAL CHANGE.

2. THE ENTRENCHED INTERESTS ARE TO BE FOUND AMONG LAND OWNERS, BANKERS, INDUSTRIALISTS, THE MILITARY AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT (THOUGH OBVIOUSLY NOT ALL MEMBERS OF THESE GROUPS CAN BE AUTOMATICALLY LUMPED WITH THE RIGHT) AND THEY DRAW THEIR PUBLIC SUPPORT FROM THE LARGE NUMBERS OF PREVIOUSLY WORKING-CLASS SPANIARDS WHO HAVE RISEN IN THE LAST DECADE AND A HALF OF ECONOMIC BOOM INTO THE MIDDLE CLASS -- THE ELECTORAL BASE WHICH FRAGA HAD DEFINED AS THOSE WHO HAVE A CAR AND AN APARTMENT AND DON'T WISH TO LOSE THEM. THIS "CIVILIZED RIGHT" HAS RECENTLY BEEN MEETING REGULARLY IN NATIONAL MOVEMENT HEADQUARTERS IN AN EFFORT TO BRING TOGETHER THE VARIOUS RIGHT-WING POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN A LARGER GROUPING DESIGNED TO CAPTURE THE ENTIRE NON-EXTREMIST RIGHT WING OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THE FOUR POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN QUESTION ARE: (1) THE "UNION DE PUEBLO ESPANOL" (UPDE) AMONG WHOSE FOUNDERS ARE THE PRESENT AND FORMER NATIONAL MOVEMENT MINISTERS ADOLFO SUAREZ AND SOLIS RUIZ; (2) THE ORIOL FAMILY'S TRADITIONALIST ORGANIZATION "UNION NACIONAL ESPANOLA" (UNE); (3) RODRIGUEZ DE VALCARCEL'S "ANEPA"; AND (4) RAIMUNDO FERNANDEZ CUESTA'S "FRENTE NACIONAL ESPANOL" (FNE). THE FOUR, WHOSE COMBINED MEMBERSHIP EXCEEDS 100,000, ISSUED THEIR FIRST JOINT POLITICAL STATEMENT FEB 11. ITS MAIN THEME IS THE REJECTION OF SYSTEMATIC ATTACKS AGAINST THE PRESENT GOVT BY THE LEFT OPPOSITION AND A COMMITMENT TO ORDERLY CHANGE WITHIN THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM WITHOUT COMPROMISING EXISTING INTERNAL PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF A RIGHT-WING POLITICAL GROUPING HAS BEEN PUBLICLY ADVOCATED BY A NUMBER OF LEADERS. THE NEW LEADER OF THE UNE, FERNANDEZ DE LA MORA -- A WELL-KNOWN RIGHT-WING IDEOLOGIST -- HAS URGED THE FORMATION OF A "PLATFORM OF ASSOCIATIONS" OR "NATIONAL FRONT" TO OFFSET THE POSSIBLE EMERGENCE OF A "POPULAR FRONT" OF THE (JUNTA
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DEMOCRATICA) AND THE PLATFORM OF DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE. IN ESSENCE, THIS IS THE REAL OBJECTIVE OF THE NEW GROUPING OF FOUR POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

4. GIRON'S NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF VETERANS, THE LARGEST SINGLE MASS ORGANIZATION OUTSIDE THE MOVEMENT ITSELF, ALTHOUGH THEORETICALLY APOLITICAL, ALSO PUBLICLY URGED THE FORMATION OF A RIGHT WING POLITICAL GROUP IN A DECLARATION ISSUED FOLLOWING ARIAS' JAN 28 SPEECH.

5. FREQUENT REFERENCES TO THE EXISTENCE OF THREE OR FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN SPAIN BY POLITICAL LEADERS -- PRINCIPALLY FRAGA -- HAVE ALSO TENDED TO PUSH THE RIGHT INTO PULLING ITS FORCES TOGETHER. TOO MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE PROPER PLACE FOR A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND SOCIALIST PART IN THE FUTURE POLITICAL ARNA FOR THE RIGHT TO NEGLECT AN OPPORTUNITY TO ORGANIZE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT. IT HAS A HEAD START FROM THE ORGANIZATIONAL STANDPOINT AND NEED NOT AWAIT DEFINITIVE CHANGES IN THE LAWS REGULATING FREE ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION BEFORE CARRYING OUT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

6. THE ISSUANCE OF THE JOINT STATEMENT BY THE FOUR RIGHT WING POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WHICH ORGANIZED IN RESPONSE TO PREMIER ARTAS' DECREE/LAW OF DEC 1974 TOOK PLACE WITHIN DAYS OF THE APPEARANCE OF A MUCH-COMMENTED FRONT PAGE ARTICLE IN "ABC" (MONARCHIST) BY ARIAS' FORMER MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY, Y CARRO MARTINEZ. THE ARTICLE'S THEME WAS THAT ARIAS SHOULD ESTABLISH A POLITICAL BASE BY LEADING A MAJOR POLITICAL GROUPING COMMITTED TO HIS ANNOUNCED GOVT PROGRAM. EMBASSY CONTACTS REPORT THAT THE POLITICAL "ESTABLISHMENT" ENSCONCED IN THE FOUR POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS HAS FELT THE LACK OF A LEADER AND DECIDED THAT ARIAS WOULD BE THE RIGHT MAN TO ACT AS THE HEAD OF THE NEW GROUPING. ACCORDING TO A KEY MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM COMMISSION, THE NEW INFORMAL GROUPING OF FOUR POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WILL NOT BE FORMALIZED TO AVOID PROVOKING THE UNIFICATION OF THE OPPOSITION, I.E., "JUNTA DEMOCRATICA" AND "PLATFORM OF DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE".

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7. ABSENT FROM THIS NEW FORMATION ARE TWO KEY POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS:

(A) SILVA MUÑOZ' "UNION DEMOCRATICA ESPANOLA" (UDE) AND (B) CANTARERO DEL CASTILLO'S "REFORMA SOCIAL ESPANOL" (RSSE). SILVA MUÑOZ' UDE, ALTHOUGH IT HAS FULFILLED ALL THE REQUIREMENTS FOR DEFINITIVE APPROVAL AS A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, HAS WITHHELD TAKING THE FINAL STEP. NOW, HOWEVER, SILVA'S UDE IS GOING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO HOLD ITS FIRST PARTY CONGRESS AS A FULL-FLEDGED POLITICAL PARTY FEB 27 (MADRID 1162). POLITICAL OBSERVERS AGREE THAT THERE IS A LARGE SEGMENT OF FORMER FRANCO SUPPORTERS WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PREFERENCES; THE ISSUE IS WHO WILL CAPTURE THIS GROUP OF VOTERS: THE NEW GROUPING OF RIGHT-WING POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, A UNIFIED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OR THE UDE.

8. CANTARERO, THE FIRST POLITICIAN TO COLLABORATE WITH THE GOVT IN ORGANIZING A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, IS

IN SOME WAYS THE MOST VICTIMIZED. HIS RSE IS UNREPRESENTED IN THE PRESENT GOVT AND, AS A SELF-STYLED SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, HE HAS SAID THAT HE COULD NOT JOIN A RIGHT-WING GROUPING OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. INASMUCH AS MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS HAVE DEEP ROOTS IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT'S VARIOUS SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS, HE MAY FIND HIMSELF ISOLATED AS A LEADER IF HIS FOLLOWERS SEEK SOME COLLABORATION THE THE NEW RIGHT-WING GROUPING.

9. APART FROM THIS RIGHT-WING GROUPING, THERE EXISTS AS WELL, IN ADDITION TO THE LEFT OPPOSITION, THE -EQUIP" OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND A MORE AMORPHOUS GROUP OF THE CENTER WHICH CAN BE TERMED AS MONARCHISTS/LIBERALS -- THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE MONARCHY FOR WHATEVER PRACTICAL REASONS AND ARE COMMITTED TO REFORM. THE MAJOR FIGURES IN THE PRESENT CABINET -- FRAGA, AREILZA, GARRIGUES -- WOULD ALL BE FOUND IN THIS GROUPING. THEIR ORGANIZING EFFORTS HAVE LAGGED CONSIDERABLY BEHIND THAT OF THE OTHER MAJOR GROUPINGS THOUGH IT IS FROM PRECISELY HERE THAT FRAGA IS EXPECTED TO FORM HIS PARTY. STABLER
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